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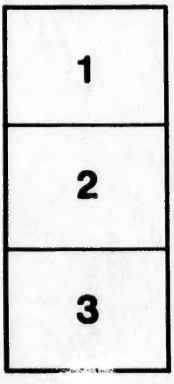

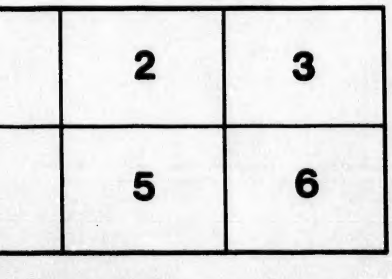

THE REFORM ALLIANCE

TO THEIR BROTHER REFORMERS OF UPPER CANADA

We should ill discharge the duty justly expected from us, if we omitted to address you, at a time when you most need and desire correct intelligence from the capital.

The late eventful Session has closed. Sir Francis Bond Head has, in his Speech from the Throne, appealed to your passions and prejudices with untrue and ungandid statements, against the majority of our honest representatives, to whom has been entrusted the guardianship of our civil and religious liberties. This appeal we now proceed to consider.

It becomes us, as honest constituents towards honest representatives, to appreciate their patriotic conduct, under circumstances more trying and arduous than have ever before occurred in the history of this Province. Identified with the public welfare, sharing with us all the consequences of good or bad Government, and elected among ourselves, to act in our behalf, at this critical juncture, we renew to them the solemn pledges of our support, in their faithful and well-directed labors in the defence of principles inalienably affecting ourselves, our posterity, and our country.

It is true, that the House of Assembly in the last Session of the present Parliament, in a volume of 570 [illegible] complained of our Grievances. The [illegible]t on Grievances was taken into consideration by His Majesty's Government in England, and Sir Francis Head declares that, "no shorter *did the said Report reach His Majesty's Government than it was determined that the grievances it detailed should immediately be effectually corrected*;" and he announces himself the person "selected to carry these remedial measures into effect." Why has not Sir Francis Head done his duty?—As he was selected to redress these grievances, why are they still unredressed?—It is not from want of time, for he has been already amongst us between three and four months, and, without at present noticing his acts of misgovernment, we find that, although according to his own account, our grievances were "IMMEDIATELY *to be effectually redressed*," yet he has been pleased hitherto to do nothing!! He has not even made a propitious beginning. The people by their representatives, have done all in their power by embodying in the Grievance Reports *the sum total of their complaints*," and it therefore became for Francis Head to realize his professions by applying a remedy. It would have been needless for the people to complain of their grievances, if they could have themselves redressed them. If they complained, it was to bring the attention of the Government to redress them. Sir Francis came in the name of the Gover[illegible] that object. Has he measure of his [illegible] to attempt it. We hypocrisy for him [illegible] work which he came [illegible] gun. He dismissed they desired to advise and as he would not with their advice, w[illegible] dial work, single-h[illegible] since formed a new even from that perio[illegible] himself in earnest b[illegible] though selected "I[illegible] TUALLY *to remedy* a[illegible] even, suggested a si[illegible] lament or to the [illegible] Province and ascend[illegible] noise of cannon and [illegible] was no remedy for [illegible] it was only the wast[illegible] mockery of Regal S[illegible] Compare his *openi*[illegible] in the former, hersa[illegible] forbidding, "I hav[illegible] *nothing to promise or* [illegible] selected "*immediately* [illegible] *our wrongs* had no[illegible] less!! What clair[illegible] fidence, who, refus[illegible] ate occasion to avow[illegible] policy. We presume[illegible] on the Throne to tel[illegible] be intended to do, [illegible] to PROMISE to PEOP[illegible] in truth, he failed to [illegible] *form any thing*. He[illegible] trust I shall not call [illegible] assistance, which yo[illegible] the rising interests [illegible] Very well;—why h[illegible] and as often as he pl[illegible] cradle [illegible] be [illegible] wise even WHERE[illegible] them for, ABSTRACT[illegible] reform. [illegible]!—Had he [illegible] the Session "no go[illegible] vernment receive th[illegible] they determined t[illegible] should immediately [illegible] beg you will there[illegible] them, and be assure[illegible] vain for that agitata[illegible] pests and the rising [illegible] require;—then indee[illegible] immediately taken [illegible] own hands and call[illegible] by the Assembly [illegible] Perry's memora[illegible]

THEIR REFORMERS IN

R CANADA.

name of the Government, professedly to effect that object. Has he done it?—Not one solitary measure of his has betrayed even a disposition to attempt it. We, therefore, deem it political hypocrisy for him to lament, that, the remedial work which he came to perform is not even begun. He dismissed his late Council because they desired to advise him on our public affairs; and as he would not let them assist him, even with their advice, why did he not do the remedial work, single handed?—And as he has since formed a new Council, why has he not even from that period up to the present, shewn himself, in earnest by doing something?—Although selected "IMMEDIATELY AND EFFECTUALLY *to remedy our grievances*" he has not even suggested a single measure either to Parliament or to the people!—Coming to this Province and ascending the Throne amidst the noise of cannon and the music of the Garrison, was no remedy for our admitted wrongs. It was only the waste of ammunition, and the mockery of Regal State.

Compare his *opening* with his *closing* Speech. In the former, he said little, and that little was forbidding. "I have," said he, "for myself *nothing to promise or profess*"!! The person selected "*immediately and effectually*" to *redress our wrongs*, had nothing to promise or profess!! What claim had a man to public confidence, who refused on a most appropriate occasion to avow a liberal and redeeming policy. We presumed he exhibited himself upon the Throne to tell us what he was, and what he intended to do. Surely he had a great deal to PROMISE to PROFESS and to PERFORM, but in truth, he failed to *promise to profess or to perform any thing*. He at the same time said "I trust I shall not call in vain upon you for that assistance, which your King expects and which the rising interests of your country require." Very well!—why has he not CALLED as long and as often as he pleased upon the Assembly!—alas! he has not, by message or otherwise even WHISPERED, much less CALLED upon them for ASSISTANCE in one single measure of reform!!—Had he said in the beginning of the Session "no sooner did His Majesty's Government receive the Grievance Report, than they determined the Grievances it detailed should immediately be effectually redressed. I beg you will therefore immediately correct them, and be assured you will not call on me in vain for that assistance which your King expects and the rising interests of your country require," then indeed would the Assembly have immediately taken the Grievance work into their own hands and called upon him for assistance

had they needed it. But possessed by an evil jealousy alike against the late Council and the Assembly, he heralded himself the person solely entrusted to carry remedial measures, *immediately* into full effect: and the House of Assembly as well as the Executive Council were to play a subordinate part, by assisting when he *called* upon them. Making himself the sole in the work, why has he not *called* for *assistance*?—Until he *called*, who could tell what *assistance* he wanted? Had he felt half the sympathy he has affected with the people's wrongs, and CALLING had proved ineffectual, he would, as a faithful "SON" have bellowed, until he was heard and answered.

When, indeed, he dismissed the late Council, he whiningly said to the Assembly "I was *preparing* remedial measures, which I *intended* to lay before them (my Council) after a few moments' reflection." Very well;—he was *preparing* these long-coming remedial measures, in a disingenuous manner, unknown to the late Executive Council or to the Assembly; and a few moments were only needed for him to bring forth these embryo measures. This *preparation* was secretly in progress, (if he tells the truth) when he dismissed the late Council on the 12th of March, and therefore our Representatives, with great patience and forbearance, instead of limiting him to "*a few moments*" made no report, on the Constitutional question at issue, till the 15th of April following, in the hope, that he who only wanted "*a few moments*" would, in a few weeks, be ready to present them with some of the remedial measures, with which he professed to be entrusted, or *call* upon the Assembly for that *assistance*, "which the King expected and the rising interests of the country required." But there was during all that time no *call* made, no *assistance* sought for! He had been preparing remedial measures, and has none, even now, ready; he was too full of self-sufficiency and concealment to call for assistance from the House of Assembly or the late Executive Council, and, therefore he who was entrusted to carry certain "remedial measures immediately into full effect" has done nothing! has prepared nothing! has proposed nothing! has *called for assistance* in nothing!

As he declared, however, he had nothing to promise or profess, actually did nothing when much was expected and needed, and would not condescend to call for assistance, it obviously became the duty of the people, thro' their representatives, to jog his memory, and a little quicken his understanding. For this purpose it was certainly excusable for the Assembly to disturb him in his dignified repose, faring sumptuously every day, with his £20,000 a year: and as the grievances, to be immediately and effectually redressed, were the offspring of the past and identified with it, they were obliged to revert to that past, in addressing him with a summary of the grievances requiring immediate correction. This was done by the Assembly, you will recollect, in Peter Perry's memora-

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the address of the 5th day of February; and the language of His Excellency in reply was truly repulsive, evasive and insincere. In his reply to that searching address of the Assembly he wished to "*correct cautiously yet effectually* all real *grievances*," and, as if his head was ready to burst with much-a-do-about nothing, he craved exemption from trouble about the occurrences of the past. Here we see the poison of the tories operating upon him. He, who was commissioned according to his own words,—"IMMEDIATELY to remedy our grievances" had his mind changed to do it *cautiously*? And what grievances did he even propose to correct cautiously, indefinite, indeed, as that term is? Observe, it was not what the Grievance Report detailed, but only "*real grievances!*" Says Sir Francis Head "no sooner did the Grievance Report reach His Majesty's Government, than it was determined the *Grievances it detailed* should immediately be effectually corrected;" but when called upon by the Assembly, like a straight-forward man, to faithfully to do the duty committed to him by the King, he stumbled, pretending he could not look into the occurrences of the past,—that instead of correcting the grievances *immediately* he should do it *cautiously*, and that instead of correcting the grievances detailed in the Grievance Report, he should correct only what as THOUGHT real grievances. But he who evades correcting the grievances of the past would be equally evasive about them in the future, and the doing it cautiously might be the business of years, while he was disputing with the aid of the tories, about their reality!

But allow him so far to frustrate the avowed object of his mission, as not *immediately*, but *cautiously* to correct only "real grievances," and we ask, what single grievance real or alleged has his *caution* allowed him to redress? Up to this day, so *cautiously* has he proceeded, that neither the Assembly nor the people know even one of the remedial measures he is thus holding in deceptive secrecy. Judging him by his own words, he has come not to inquire into the truth or number of our grievances, but he was entrusted with the remedial measures themselves to carry them *immediately* into effect,—He, therefore, depended upon no one. He had the whole work to do. In his discourteous reply to the address of the Citizens of Toronto, he said, in a comic imitation of Cæsar's style without Cæsar's spirit—"The grievances of this Province must be redressed,—impartial justice must be administered—the people have demanded it,—the King has ordained it,—DELAY will only encrease impatience." Oh! that he could say, "veni vidi, vici"—(I came, I saw, I conquered.) But altho' the people have demanded, & the King ordained, Sir Francis has alone failed *to execute!* Not more in his closing than in his opening speech, has he the candour to specify even one of his hidden remedial measures by name, title, or operation; one has he stated was *assented to or called* or wished for from the people or their representatives. He has been here, three or four months, professing

to be in travail about reform, and yet so barren as to bring forth nothing. Was this the way, to use his own political cant "to urge, & if possible to lead the H. of Assembly on towards reform?"

With a littleness of mind and poverty of christian spirit, disgraceful to his station however congenial to his nature, he next reproaches the Assembly with occupying "new and questionable ground in entertaining the complaint of eight Indians of the Wyandot tribe." His Majesty thro' the Earl of Ripon stated "there was not any individual amongst his Canadian people to whose petition he did not require that the most exact & respectful attention should be given." Wo'd the poor laws commissioner, when in Kent, have thought it "*new and questionable ground*" for him to entertain the complaint of eight Kentish paupers? His conduct towards his unfortunate countrymen in Kent was notoriously cruel and unjust, but would it become the people of this province, thro' their representatives, to imitate his example, in disdainfully rejecting the humble appeal of the humblest Indians? Is this complaint from Sir Francis the language of a christian? or of a Reformer? Is it not more the arbitrary and exclusive feeling of a tory? Does it not prove him a tory disguised as a Reformer?—a wolf in sheeps' clothing? We hope and firmly believe, that our generous Representatives will, ever have their doors and their hearts open to the complaints of their brethren, whether they are white, black or red, and prove themselves impregnable by the undignified sneers and inhuman scoffs of so unworthy a representative of the King.

He next complains, that the House of Assembly "brought forward a new set of grievances in the form of an address to the King on Trade and Commerce?" Is this the language of a reformer who wished to inquire after and improve our Commerce? Is not the complaint mean and pitiful? But we ask who brought this matter before the House of Assembly? Turn to the journal of last Session and you will find a petition from the Hon. Wm. Allan, his own selected Executive Councillor, urging the attention of the Assembly to that very matter on Trade and Commerce. This secret confidential adviser of Sir Francis first urged the House into the subject, and then, Sir Francis abuses them for troubling him with "a new set of grievances!" Had they rejected the petition of the Hon. Wm. Allan, a high tory, & legislative and Sir Francis Head's Executive Councillor, without investigation, and left untouched a proposition so all important to our Trade and Commerce, would not such a course have been censured, as discourteous to the honorable petitioner as well as to the Government of which he is a member, and negligent of the vital interests of the country? It is strange conduct in Sir Francis Head to condemn the House of Assembly for acting upon a commercial question, of which his Executive Councillor and secret adviser was the prime mover and agitator, aided, too, by Robert Sullivan, Esq., now presiding Councillor, and Solicitor General Hagerman!!

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He next, falsely takes to himself the credit of adding three "avowed reformers to the Executive Council." But we heard nothing of it till the House of Assembly in Peter Perry's resolving address, already mentioned, jogged his reluctant memory, whilst faring sumptuously every day, with his 20,000 dollars a year. Is it not beneath the truth and dignity of a Governor to pretend to the country, that he originated a change in the Council, to the unsatisfactory condition of which (although a most prominent grievance in the Grievance Report), he never attempted to apply any of the "remedial measures" with which, he says, he was entrusted, till urged by the said address of the Assembly? But, when so urged, he said, in order to blind the country, introduce into the Executive Council Messrs. Dunn, Baldwin and Rolph, in addition to the old members—Messieurs Robinson, Markland and Wells. The people deceived by treacherous appearances, were satisfied and thankful. So were their representatives. We all felt, that, with such Councillors, Sir Francis would, though a stranger, pursue good government which could not yield the grievances of past corruption.

We thought these appointments to the Executive Council were made in honor and good faith. But we were bitterly, cruelly and disgracefully deceived. For having sworn the Council to secrecy, as he alleges, he kept them *mute* and *dumb* from giving any advice, while, in breach of all good faith, both towards them and the country, he pursued his own unadvised and arbitrary pleasure, now confirmed to be *after the fashion of his predecessors*. During three weeks, this deceitful and fraudulent system was secretly carried on, while it was supposed Sir Francis was in faithful intercourse with the Executive Council, upon the most important affairs of the Province. Something, however, appeared to be wrong; which circumstances betrayed, notwithstanding the oath of secrecy said to have been imposed;—for, when we saw a military stranger, on half pay, with a temporary leave of absence appointed Surveyor General, with the avowed intention of putting him into the Legislative Council to make laws for us, and into the Executive Council to advise upon our public affairs; when we saw a gallant Highland officer, Lt. Col. McDonell, of Stormont, defeated in his just and honourable expectations of promotion to the colonelcy of his regiment, by translating him it, over his head, Lt. Col. Vankoughnet; when we saw the Courts of Requests unfitly and unwisely reconstructed, in one instance even with three members of the same family; when we witnessed such and similar acts of misgovernment, we knew that corruption existed somewhere, though where to fasten it we could not tell. After three weeks, it was brought to light, by the executive of the late Executive Council, for whom they found themselves duped by Sir Francis Head, by his swearing them to secrecy, and as an act of unparalleled duplicity, never, during that period, consulting them on public affairs, according to the public expectation he had himself excited, they addressed to him a secret and confidential representation, in which they unanimously prayed, that they might according to the oath they had taken, advise His Excellency upon our public affairs, previously to his final and discretionary decision upon those affairs; and that he could not allow them to fulfil the duties, to

appeal from them by the people and their representatives that they should be allowed to [illegible] the public [illegible] concerning the [illegible] and [illegible] the duties of office to them.

This timely caution against political fraud and deception in the conduct and management of our affairs, [illegible] Francis an alternative either to fulfil his compact [illegible] the country by allowing the Executive Council to do their lawful duties, or to submit to the [illegible] the liberties of this colony, that they might [illegible] more to this wicked deception of the people, or be blamed for measures which [illegible] were never allowed or agreed with. [illegible] What was the answer of Sir F. Head? He [illegible] into a quarrel with the Council, and endeavoured to sully them and to destroy their influence with the people, by telling them in plain English, *to retire from their principles, or leave the Council!* No doubt in putting this alternative, he had mistaken the men; but while some they adhered to their principles, and retired [illegible] honorable able for them, they tendered their resignations, which Sir Francis Head voluntarily accepted, instead of inviting them to continue in office in the more subdued [illegible] degree of their Executive duties.

Having thus got rid of the late Council, he [illegible] about for men to form another which [illegible] bear; and for this purpose he [illegible] the Speaker of the Legislature, Robert Baldwin [illegible], a gentleman of known [illegible] veneration; Mr. Blaikie, who [illegible] declined [illegible] in the name [illegible] Connell declined, he could not [illegible] independently in [illegible] and who has [illegible] with Messrs. Allan [illegible] and Augustus Baldwin, [illegible] accepted part of mutilated and dismembered [illegible] to Sir Francis Bond [illegible].

Sir Francis Head complains against the [illegible] and [illegible] the proper mode of [illegible] Parliamentary proceedings, in the novel event [illegible] Governor arriving in the midst of a Session [illegible] to make another Speech from the Throne. Is this the complaint of a reformer?—Would a reformer admire the working worth of an Assembly proving themselves as watchful of their privileges which are the birthright of the people, as he himself is of the prerogative of the Crown?—No; there is dark and sinister purpose [illegible] in view, [illegible] by seeking to induce in the representatives of the people a carelessness and [illegible] about those very privileges which Sir F. Head has finely denied and refused; and which only the other day, were the subject of appeals to England and legislation in our Courts of Law? The people in their representatives, enjoy valuable privileges, they must be sustained, without a [illegible] and sycophantic respect for persons [illegible] who [illegible] Sir Francis, could wish to be greeted on his arrival, at the expense of the [illegible] vigilance of the people's representatives, is not a reformer, nor worthy of the people, and must be admitted to conduct public affairs, under a free Government. Such a man [illegible] at once, on the spot, to be [illegible] and applauding [illegible] Sir Francis [illegible] Parliamentary practice might [illegible] [illegible] other encroachments and [illegible] [illegible] All Parliamentary privileges were frittered away. It is believed, with too much appearance of truth, that, had he been allowed, without observation, to begin the Session again, with a new Speech, because he was a new Governor, he intended, like his predecessor, to have a new election of Speaker to the Assembly, that he in the exercise the prerogative of approving or disapproving their choice; and it was openly said, that, as the Speaker was the organ of the Assembly, for much official intercourse with the Governor, no person not actually approved by him, as not personally unacceptable, should hold that high office. This was a plan to supplant Mr. Speaker Bidwell, with Solicitor General Hagerman, who has been the Court favorite, from the very beginning. But the vigilance of the Assembly was a barrier to the base intrigue, and proved further [illegible] to the privileges of Parliament.

But while making this plain complaint, let us see what reception Sir Francis will receive from the people, even to the abandonment of their vigilance respecting the privileges of the Assembly? Nevertheless, they, almost unanimously and courteously said to him,

"We, His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of Upper Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled, thank your Excellency for your Speech from the Throne.

"We congratulate Your Excellency on your safe arrival amongst us, and as your maintaining the government of this Province, and we have sincerely participated in the anxious feelings and expectations of the people upon the event which they have been disposed to regard as happy and auspicious. The just and reasonable wishes of the people have already been deliberately and solemnly expressed in the answer of this House to the Speech delivered from the Throne at the opening of the present Session, and Your Excellency may rely upon it, loyal, constitutional, unbiassed and fearless assistance, expected by our King and required by the rising interests of our country in the pursuit of those measures necessary for our peace, welfare, and good government.

"We shall be most happy to receive, and shall ever most respectfully and carefully consider any message, from Your Excellency, with whose administration we sincerely desire to co-operate.

"By order, MARSHALL S. BIDWELL, Speaker.
"Commons House of Assembly, Speaker.
"28th day of January, 1836."

Such an address [illegible] to a poor deluded [illegible] Was not this "leading him on towards reform"? Was not the gentle and heavenly offering him "Assistance, if he would but call for it"? and must he not have [illegible] on his tongue and [illegible] in his heart to reduce the Assembly to [illegible] the entire [illegible] of his mission, for the full [illegible] of which he has even up to the time [illegible] done nothing, prepared nothing, proposed nothing, [illegible] called for assistance, not accepted [illegible] tendered?

It is made a matter of complaint that the

supplies have been stopped.—The right of granting or withholding supplies is vested by law in the representatives of the people; and surely, it would be a strange right, if the moment it was under any circumstances, exercised, it became a wrong. The use of this right is to secure a good and satisfactory administration of the Government, by withholding the supplies when the Government is badly and unsatisfactorily administered. It would be down-right despotism, if the people could be either frightened or coerced into voting supplies to support bad government. The simple question, therefore, for our consideration is, whether we have such a management of our public affairs, thro' the various public functionaries, as would justify their claim to be paid out of the hard earnings of the people, or justify the House of Assembly paying them?

"A stranger to this province," and needing no Executive Council to advise or inform him (says the *Labour Reformer*) His Excellency tells the Legislature in his Speech something of its affairs with which he cannot acquainted even for the past ten years. To stop the Supplies, says His Excellency, in the history of Upper Canada, is a calamity, I believe, never before resorted to." We believe, on the contrary, the Supplies have been twice stopped in the past ten years. In Upper Canada the wheels of it is in it's history of late. Sir F. B. Head in his letter (which we will in Appendix) than with the Grievance Report itself, in the history of Upper Canada therein narrated, we find "An Act granting to his Majesty a sum of money in aid of the funds for defraying the expense of the administration of justice and support of the Civil Government of the Province," introduced by the Legislative Council in 1820. Who stopped the Supplies then? The Legislative Council? In 1832 An Act bearing a like title was tomahawked by the Legislative Council, and who stopped the supplies then? We maintain the House of Assembly have a better right to stop the Supplies than the Legislative Council; and from dear bought experience it is known and seen to the measure in Upper Canada is a mere farce, and the constitutional safeguard of the rights and privileges of the people is broken down by irresponsible power."

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY WITHHOLDING THE SUPPLIES? It is refusing to pay, out of our taxes, the salaries of various public functionaries such as Sir F. B. Head, the Lieut.-General Governor, the members of the House of Assembly, the corps of civil and government, the stickler for a law established Church, endowed Rectories & a State-paid Priesthood, and Attorney-Gen'l Jameson, at least speechless and incompetent, the compatriot of Orde R. Gowan, Grand Master of Orange Lodges and Election Riots;—and to Sir F. B. Head himself, who thus touched more sensitively than his pocket, than he can be sure he has a heart, is loudest in his vehement complaints against the stoppage of their pay, called the Supplies. The stoppage of the Supplies can only affect these state-paid personages and the official tribe of sycophants by whom they are surrounded and aided in concealing the past and present corrupt and extravagant mismanagement of our affairs. The total estimated income of the Province, under the control of the Legislature, for 1836, (which is the amount of a much larger sum, called the casual and territorial revenue, over which the Executive Government deny the constitutional control of the House of Assembly) amounts to about £79,000, out of which the Executive Government ask, towards the payment of public annuities, about 39,000, the fee of their salaries having been permanently provided for by the immortal Everlasting Salary Bill passed by the Tories to sell their country when they were in power, under Sir John Colborne.—Therefore, besides the 39,000, there remained £70,000 towards the payment of the interest of the public debt and the public improvements sanctioned by the Parliament.

For the appropriation of this supply several various bills were passed by both branches of the Legislature, such as the general road bill, &c., as may be seen on reference to the list of bills published in a late number of the Correspondent & Advocate. It is in vain says the Brockville Recorder, to say, "because the supplies were not voted that therefore the money bills not connected with nor dependant on the supplies should be rejected. There is no more connection between them, than there is between any other two bills passed by the Legislature, during the same Session." Yet because the Assembly voted no supplies Sir F. B. Head could not give the royal assent to other distinct and separate money bills for public improvement. With what unblushing impudence therefore does he say, "I am guiltless of the distress which Upper Canada must shortly most bitterly endure from the stoppage of the supplies"!!

But if he was not inst gated by his petulant and resentful temper to resist the claims of personal salaries by refusing the money for other public purposes, why does he not, while economising borrow for the people, open the colonial treasury filled from the casual and territorial revenue, beside the £60,000 from the late sales of clergy reserves, and thus do for the people, what at the expense of honor, candour, and truth, he declares was frustrated by the Assembly?

If the Assembly have led him into the exercise of passion, to defeat the money bills they did pass, why does he not remedy the evil, out of the monies under his control paid by the Canada Company, or derived from the sale of wild lands and Crown timber, or from those reserves, and such like sources? Could they be better applied?—He fears the means (and it is contended) have never been unjustly practised,) without the consent of the Assembly!

But while seeming to shed Crocodile tears at their sufferings, he is laughing in the sleeve

with the bait, he is duping the sufferers into a fond and unjust complaint against their representatives. A man who rejects measures beneficial to the country, not because he did not understand, but because it was considered desirable to punish the country, in order to work a base opposition, he by acting on such motives turns against the country the power with which he was vested for its benefit. He is unfit for the trust and ought to be stripped of it. He is a public enemy and should be disabled from perpetrating public mischief.

In order to prejudice the public against the House of Assembly, for the course they have taken, Sir Francis says :—"the effect of your "decision will be severely felt by all the people "in the public offices,—by the cessation of im"provements in your roads,—by delay of com"pensation to sufferers in the late war,—and "by the check of emigration."

The supplies are stopt in Lower Canada, but Lord Gosford did not hesitate to grant the contingencies, and give the Royal Assent to all the Bills, says one. Why has not Sir F. Head taken the same manly and magnanimous course? Merely to have the pitiful opportunity of falsely charging the consequences of his act of misgovernment against our representatives, although he was himself alone, to blame—Because they will not grant him supplies to uphold the misgovernment of our affairs, he will spitefully refuse contingencies, cease improvements in our roads, delay the war losses and check emigration. To all these measures like Lord Gosford, he might have given the Royal Assent, but he says, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; and losing the supplies he visits on the country, for which he affects to feel so much regard, all those inconveniences merely to create an opportunity of falsely imputing the consequences to men who would disdain to bend to his arbitrary will.

But we confide in the good sense and good feeling of the people to vindicate their faithful representatives against such chicanery; and that they will, like Freemen, even lightly regard the utmost which his abuse of the King's prerogative can bring against them, in an honorable struggle for the establishment of our Constitution upon its proper basis,—a Constitution which is not a mutilated one, but in the language of the illustrious Sidney is the very "image and transcript of that of Great Britain."

Our representatives have come to the solemn and reluctant conclusion, that the time has arrived when, after repeated and protracted complaints, we must conclude either to support the bad, unsatisfactory & irresponsible system which has heretofore been forced upon us, or openly and frankly refuse to sanction such a system from our taxes any longer. It is a sufficient answer to those who make the complaint, to say, administer the Government in such a manner as will make it both the interest and the duty of the people and their representatives to pay you liberally. But correct and modernised

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servants ever woefully callout when their wages are stopt; and it is a kind of abuse which the public must expect and endure.

The Right Hon. E. G. Stanley, in answer to our complaints, made years ago, would not believe we were in earnest, while we opened our treasury to the very men whose services we condemned, and pointedly observed in his letter to Dr. W. W. Baldwin,—"The constitutional remedy is open to the people of addressing for the removal of the advisers of the Crown and *refusing supplies*." But these supplies have been too readily granted heretofore to uphold an intolerable system, till our public debt has become burdensome; our public duties contaminated; £60,000 from Clergy Reserves paid into the military chest; our public lands wasted; and fifty-seven rectories established with rich endowments—with exclusive ecclesiastical privileges, and the germs of spiritual and ecclesiastical domination to the great scandal of good government and the corruption of the ministers of the Church of Christ! Ecclesiastical ascendancy is an abomination in the sight of God and man. And Sir F. Head is completing the work begun by Sir J. Colborne, by proceeding in the induction of church of England Ministers into the endowed Rectories. If therefore there ever was a time calling for the honest and fearless discharge of the duty of our Representatives, it is the present, which is pregnant with evils most alarming to our future Civil and Religious Liberties.

Fellow Reformers, if you wish to be slaves, you must find others than your present representatives to fasten your chains. To support such a guilty system they can never lend themselves. They have neither a tongue to justify it, nor an arm to defend it. The late Executive Councillors did their duty. It would have been base had the Assembly shrunk from doing theirs. By doing so they have incurred the criminations of Sir F. B. Head in his closing Speech from the Throne and sacrificed all hope of grace or justice at his hands. Their only reward for their disinterested labours is your approbation and good will. Can Sir F. Head seduce you from your accustomed fidelity to your public servants, and win you by his hollow professions into the fangs of his arbitrary and Ecclesiastical domination?

Sir Francis Head tells you that the Constitution is invaded by your representatives! Can it be an invasion of the Constitution for them to desire to see in the Executive Council men of known talents and integrity? or to desire that after selecting such men, he should, in an honorable and constitutional manner, consult them for his own information and for our common safety? But does he not himself violate our constitution by assuming, as a stranger, to govern us without the aid of the constituted authorities of the country, and, having formed *an apparently efficient and acceptable Council* that deceive us by secretly rendering them "mute," "dumb," and nugatory, in order to maintain, in himself, a petty tyranny?

He tells us his responsibility and patronage are in danger of being taken from him! Some persons we know cry out before they are hurt. But can it take away his responsibility or patronage to receive good advice, before he finally judges and acts? This is all that has been asked: and he sounds the note of alarm to seduce us from our confidence in our representatives. He apes the lapwing to draw us us from the proper object of our first duty.

Look at his arbitrary patronage in the threatened military appointment of Captain Macauley to the office of Surveyor-General, and the injustice to Lieutenant-Colonel McDonell, one of our representatives, and at the fifty-seven patrons for the fifty-seven rectories, and then say ought he not have, in the distribution of his patronage the aid of an impartial and honest Council? Are our rights, as a jury empanel a verdict, impaired by hearing the evidence, the Council and the judge? How then can his rights in responsibility and patronage be impaired by first hearing the advice of a Council?

He abuses the late Council for "*surprising him on a sudden with their representation.*" Read Mr. Baldwin's letter and it will be seen it was not "*sudden*," but discussed in Council with himself ten days before. And surely to open upon the late six Councillors, three weeks of frank, disingenuous concealment and unreal duplicity, were enough to call for explanation, if he really were a reformer could such a representation for promoting good Government come out of season, either too suddenly or too promptly?

We beg you to remember that the great constitutional question at issue has the sanction of men of all parties, who dare honestly to express their real opinions. On the 14th day of March, on which day there was a call of the House: it was moved by Mr. Perry, seconded by Dr. Charles Duncombe, that it be

"Resolved—That this House considers the appointment of a *responsible* Executive Council to advise the Lieutenant Governor, or person administering the government on the affairs of this Province, to be one of the most happy and wise features in our Constitution, and essential in our form of government, and as being one of the strongest securities for a just and equitable administration of the government, and full enjoyment of our civil and religious rights and privileges."

YEAS.—Messrs. Alway, Brown, Bruce, Caldwell, Chesser, Chisholm, Cook, Cornwall, Duncombe *of Oxford*, Duncombe *of Norfolk*, Durand, Dunlop, Gibson, Gilchrist, Hopkins, Jones, Lewis, Lount, McCrea, McDonell *of Glengarry*, McDonell *of Stormont*, McDonell *of Northumberland*, McIntosh, Mellroy, MacKenzie, McLean, McMicking, MacNab, Merritt, Morrison, Norton, Parke, Perry, Richardson, Robinson, Rubin, Rykert, Sproat, Shaver, Shibley, Small, Smith, Solicitor-General, Strachel, Thorburn, Thom, Walsh, Waters, Wells, Wilkinson, Woolverton, Wilson, Yager—53.

NAYS.—Messrs. Boulton, Malloch—2.

Yet this responsible system of Government, with the aid of a good Executive Council to advise the Lieut... contended for, ... But so corrupt ... that he actually ... expedients mea... Council refused ... principles," to ... For when the a... was, afterwards ... principle was ... attempted to be ... gentlemen, who ...

NAYS.—Mes... Dunlop, Lewis, ... McDonell, Nor... Macnab, Millon... son, Ryhert, ... Walsh, Wilkin...

They must be ...

In addition ... ly embracing ... upon your reflec... tation of the la... ally signed by ... Wells, Dunn, ... be ashamed of ... above gentlem... from Messrs. B... have been enti... support; but it ... dence, when ev... tionaries in the ... deliberately sub... a question so im... we have the al... the House of A... late Executive ... all of them ligh... sertion, when ... in order to join ... dividual a stra... der to invest h... carrying on the ... already brough... ficulties.

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vise the Lieutenant-Governor, in all that was contended for, and what Sir Francis denies us. But so corrupt and despotic is his Government, that he actually made the office-holders and expectants meanly do, what the late Executive Council refused, viz:—"to retire from their principles," to save their offices and hopes!! For when the arbitrary pleasure of Sir Francis was, afterwards, made known, the very same principle was with humiliating tergiversation attempted to be voted down by the following gentlemen, viz:—

NAYS—Messrs. Boulton, Brown, Caldwell, Dunlop, Lewis, McCrae, McDonell, *Glengarry*, McDonel, *Northumberland*, McKay, McLean, Macaulay, Malloch, Merritt, Ridout, Robinson, Rykert, Sol. General, Talbot, Thom, Walsh, Wilkinson.

They must be TORIES indeed!!!

In addition to the above vote in the Assembly embracing 51 out of 63 we [illegible] upon your reflection the fact, that [illegible] tation of the late Executive Council [illegible] ally signed by Messrs. [illegible] Wells, Dunn, Baldwin [illegible] be ashamed of the [illegible] above gentlemen [illegible] from Messrs. Baldwin [illegible] have been entitled [illegible] support; but it [illegible] dence, when even [illegible] tionaries in the country [illegible] deliberately subscribe [illegible] a question so important [illegible] we have the above-mentioned [illegible] the House of Assembly, [illegible] late Executive Council; [illegible] all of them light in the [illegible] sertion, when corruptly [illegible] in order to join a single individual [illegible] dividual a stranger like Sir F. B. [illegible] in order to invest him with the arbitrary power of carrying on the same corrupt system which has already brought us into our present unhappy difficulties.

The anti-reform spirit which animates Sir F. B. Head is betrayed in his answer to the address of the Assembly respecting Orange Societies and proclamations, a spirit utterly at variance with the conduct of His Majesty and the British Government.

Sir F. B. Head says:—

"The Government of this Province has not [illegible] taken, nor has it determined to take, any steps to prevent or discourage the formation of constitutional Societies. I consider that [illegible] tions combinations as [illegible] to the real interests of [illegible] country; but until they [illegible] lead to acts of violence or [illegible] institution I consider that a forced remedy might prove worse than the disease."

The King and Parliament say:—

"Nothing could be [illegible] prayer of my faithful Commons, than I would be pleased to discourage orange [illegible] and other secret societies. It is my first determination to discourage all such secret associations in my dominions; and I rely confidently on the [illegible] of my Loyal Subjects to support me in this determination."

We would wish to be as moderate as possible in our language, but falsehood, in any public functionary, high or low, cannot be designated by us on this occasion, in any milder name, without irreverence to the sanctity of truth. The first falsehood was uttered by Sir F. B.

Head to our representatives. They addressed him for "Copies of any bond or agreement between Your Excellency and any of your present Executive Council, or *between any two or more of the said Council*, by which it is imputed in what manner the Government shall be administered, or who shall administer the Government of this Province, in case of the above named occurrence." To this address he was most graciously pleased to answer:—"Gentlemen, I have entered into no bond or agreement of any sort with my present Ex. Council, and I do not possess, *nor does there exist in council any document of such a nature between two or more of said Council*."—But this was so untrue that Messrs. Sullivan and Augustus Baldwin, in their evidence before a select committee of the Assembly, reluctantly convict him of falsehood by confessing that there was a letter written by Sir F. B. Head, in the Council Chamber, from Mr. Sullivan to Colonel Allen, agreeing to resign his seat in the Council, in case of the death or absence of the Lieutenant Governor from the Province, so that the administration should devolve on Colonel Allen.

A second falsehood is found in his attempt to criminate the late Executive Council, by untruly representing that the letter he addressed to Mr. Robert Baldwin respecting the unfettered terms on which he received him and the others into the Council, was part of the negociation with them, and intended to convey to them the terms on which he would receive them. This is known to be untrue by Messrs. Dunn, Baldwin, and Rolph; and the evidence convicting him of this misstatement is recorded in the Report of the Select Committee of the Assembly; and the case is darkened by the fact that he has availed himself of dates known to him to be erroneous, in order to give an appearance of truth to his misrepresentation.

A third falsehood was uttered even from the Throne at the prorogation, when he said, "it will scarcely be credited that while I was thus assailed, there existed in the Grievance Report the following explanation of the relative duties of the Lieut. Governor and of his Executive Council. It appears say the Grievance Committee, that is the duty of the Lieut. Governor to take the opinion of the Executive Council only in such cases as he shall be required to do so by the instructions of the Imperial Government and in such other cases as he may think fit."

Now it will scarcely be credited, that the above passage is not to be found in the Report signed by the Grievance Committee, and appears only in the Appendix page 305, in the documentary evidence marked No. 92 [A] containing extracts, copied by W. L. Mackenzie Esq. from the records of the Executive Council, in the Colonial Office. Such a manifest disregard to truth, in making wilful misquotations, and a false application of them against a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, is

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disgraceful to the character of a gentleman, a violation of the principles of honor, and calculated to tarnish the royal name and dignity. While making the above false quotations Sir Francis had before him (not in the appendix of evidence) but in the report itself, authenticated by the several signatures of the Committee, page 41, the following declaration of their views:

"Although the members of the Executive Council seem from their own account to render no benefit to the country, receiving however a salary from it, yet a very different duty is imposed upon them by the 31st Geo. 3rd chap. 31, called the constitutional act, from which it appears they are appointed expressly to advise His Excellency upon the affairs of the Province. This they never do satisfactorily."

It is not surprising that such a man entrusted with the administration of our Government should descend to make an appeal, in his Speech from the Throne, to the prerogative to the narrow minded Englishman, Irishman, Scotchman, and U. E. Loyalist by name, to the exclusion of CANADIANS! Is such a man, full of self sufficiency, vindictiveness, & nationality, fit to govern the Canadian people!! He had traycherously instilling belief, that as the U. E. Loyalists shed the blood of their friends and kindred to prevent the United States from acquiring their independence, they will now even in their old age, plain our country with our own blood to prevent our retaining what Governor Simcoe annexed to them as the reward of their suffering loyalty—to the very image and transcript of the British Constitution," but what else? Sir Francis has told the industrious classes of Toronto, *it would be vain for us to desire and ambitious to possess.*

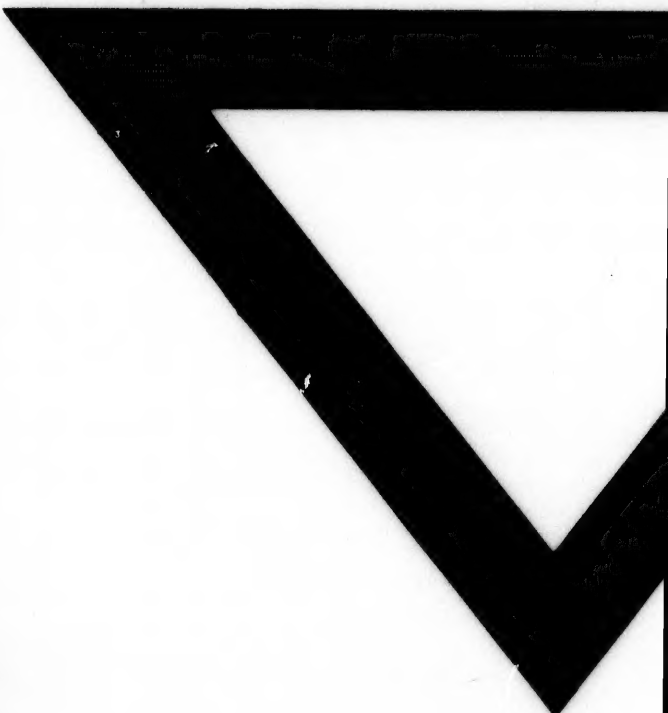
Let us now exhort the inhabitants of this province, without slyly copying like Sir F. Bond Head, to father the national feelings of the English, Irish, or Scotch, as such, but addressing ourselves to the patriotism of all, now in the country as Canadians, wherever be their birth-place—whether in the "isles of the ocean" in the mountains of Vermont, the Valley of the Mississippi, or the woods of Canada, we say,—Be true to yourselves—to your children, to your children's children—and in a word, to our common country. Let every attempt to disunite us, every attempt to excite national antipathies, in order to weaken us, that chains may be more easily rivetted on us for ever, be spurned with manly disdain.

At the coming Election, North America expects every man to do his duty.

T. D. MORRISON, M. E. F. Mayor, *President.*

JOHN McINTOSH, M. P. P. *Vice-President.*

JAMES M. DOWNES, *Secretary.*

JAMES PARSONS, *Secretary.*

Toronto, May 19, 1836.